HUMAN EVENTS

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Hoffa Goes Free: The biggest hush-hush treatment in the Capital this week was applied to what really happened in the trial of James Hoffa, Teamster boss.

This union official faced charges of bribing an agent of the Senate Rackets Committee. The trial ran its course in recent weeks with Hoffa making no brilliant showing and the prosecution putting into the record some impressive incriminating evidence. Both lawyers and laity in this city rather expected a conviction. But, when the jury reported, it turned in an acquittal — to the general astonishment.

Two facts connected with the trial have set Congressional tongues wagging and members' brains a-ticking: (1) Hoffa defense counsel brought into the courtroom Joe Louis, former boxing champion, who remarked, "I just came down to see what they're doing about my friend Jimmy Hoffa"; (2) The Jury was composed of eight Negroes and four whites. (These facts were reported in the Washington *Daily News*, July 18.)

When members of Congress looked at these facts and then at the verdict, some at first showed cynical amusement. But most became pensive and concerned.

Then, a few days later, the hitherto harried Southerners on Capitol Hill scored in their "civil rights" bill fight. They pointed to the fact that an all-white Clinton, Tenn., jury returned a verdict of guilty against seven white men accused of "conspiring" to thwart integration. This constituted proof — said the Southerners, and many Northerners agreed — that Southern juries would deal impartially with defendants accused of interference with Negro voting rights.

The effect of the above incidents was to feed the wave of "moderation," in dealing with the "civil rights" issue, which has been sweeping Capitol Hill — with obvious effects on the voting in the Senate. Observers believe this reflects a similar wave taking shape in constituencies north of the Mason-Dixon line.

This whole development — potentially the most important in years — suggests that the mass of white voters in the North fail to respond favorably either to the "liberal" fanatical view of what to do about "civil rights," or to the forensics of GOP politicos seeking support of "minority voting blocs." (For more on this subject see "Civil Rights," below.)

Bureaucrats' Revolt: Ike's directive ordering Government departments to cut their '58 spending is reportedly running into the opposition of the bureaucrats. This surprises none of the old hands in the Capital. They say — it never was an Ike Budget, nor even a Budget attributable to Budget Director Brundage (who is a well-meaning but politically unsophisticated man). The swollen $71.8 billion Budget was the work of the Truman holdovers who man the bureaucracy and who are principally interested in spending.

These anonymous little men — "the real powerhouse" of the Government, as some call them — never were weeded out by the incoming Ike Administration, although many GOP advisers advocated a purge of the Truman holdovers.

The "king" of this spending caste is one W. J. McNeil — according to insiders who were "in" and have "got out" and are telling. He is Assistant Secretary of Defense and Comptroller of the Defense Department. He is a Truman appointee and those who are well acquainted with him classify him as a "Fair Dealer."

When it is reported that Secretary of Defense Wilson now really intends to cut expenses (with the cuts in the draft, *etc.*), skeptics laugh. They say McNeil will find other places to dispense funds already appropriated. Observers for some years have watched how cleverly McNeil handled Congressional committees. But the worm turns — and apparently the House Armed Services Committee finally learned how to handle McNeil. Result: the sizable $2.3 billion reduction just voted. It may be the beginning of wisdom — say old hands.

Tito Again: Those who know the labyrinthine ways of the State Department say that, once Congress has adjourned, the Achesonites remaining in State will again make an effort to arrange a visit by Marshal Tito, Communist dictator of Yugoslavia, to Washington.

Two points are made to support this prediction:

(1) The elaborate 1½-hour TV show by Edward R. Murrow last month, showing Tito on his home grounds and giving him a rostrum to voice his propaganda, is interpreted as a buildup for a Tito visit to America. Experts noted that Tito, in the Murrow interview, showed great reticence in answering questions about his relations with the Kremlin. But he admitted to only "minor" divergencies from the Moscow line in his policies;

(2) In the last few weeks, right after the Khrushchev palace revolution in Moscow, two of Tito's chief aides went to Moscow and remained for some time. It is believed that in addition to other matters, they discussed a Tito visit to the U.S. Such a visit would serve as precedent for a visit by Zhukov, or later Khrushchev, to Washington.

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Civil Rights: In the debate over "civil rights," Southern conservative forces in the past week won a series of brilliant victories. High points in their campaign against the Administration's bill, as reviewed by Washington observers, were:

(1) The unanimous 90-0 vote repealing the Reconstruction-era "force" law (incorporated by reference into Attorney General Brownell's draft of the present measure); and (2) the subsequent 52-38 vote by which Section III of the bill, containing the "bayonet" provisions and expanding the scope of the bill to cover the integration of schools, was eradicated.

More noteworthy than the skill manifested in these victories, however, has been the ability of the Southern conservatives to draw support from sources outside the South.

The final roll call on Section III found the Southerners united with conservative Republicans who broke with the GOP leadership. Of the 18 Republican votes in favor of the Aiken-Anderson amendment, 13 were cast by the following Senators: Barrett, Bennett, Bricker, Butler, Case (S.D.), Cotton, Curtis, Dworshak, Goldwater, Hickenlooper, Malone, Mundt and Williams.

While observers are willing to yield Southern leaders a great deal of credit for effectively stemming the "civil rights" tide, however, they suggest other important reasons for the collapse of the pro-"civil rights" united front: (1) many of the Senators, it is believed, were truly shocked at the "force law" provisions of the bill; (2) this being the case, the leaders of the "civil rights" bloc felt they must compromise deeply in order to get any legislation passed at all; (3) there is a growing realization, among legislators from the North, that the problems of a multi-racial society cannot be cured overnight by brute force.

This latter point, it is said, may account for a good part of the "reasonableness" displayed by many "liberals" and such "moderate liberal" GOP Senators as Saltonstall and H. Alexander Smith. It may also have had a bearing on the votes of some of the 13 GOP conservatives who supplied the balance of victory on Section III. For, Northerners are becoming increasingly aware that segregation and "discrimination" are problems just as acute, sometimes much more so, in their own states. Large population centers such as New York, Chicago and Philadelphia — rather than the Southern states — are now the scenes of the most acute racial strife.

Three "lynchings," for example, have occurred in the United States in the past year — one in Boston and two in Chicago. The recent dispute over a bill to outlaw "discrimination" in New York City apartments (and the opposition to it voiced by *The New York Times*) is cited as an instance of Northerners taking positions usually reserved for "prejudiced" Southerners.*

Increasingly, news filters out concerning violent race encounters in Northern cities. Exact estimates as to how many of these incidents have occurred cannot be obtained — owing to the widespread Northern newspaper policy of not reporting whether fistfights, riots, crimes or other such incidents involve Negroes. *U.S. News and World Report* described one such clash in Detroit (May 11, 1956): "Recently a mob of 300 whites gathered before the home of a new neighbor, an elderly man, despite his claim that he was part-Indian, not Negro. It took 50 policemen several hours to disperse the mob and prevent violence. But the newspapers gave only a brief account of the incident. One of them 'buried' it in the back pages and only hinted at the racial factor.

"A similar housing 'incident,' involving white mobs, last year was not even mentioned by the newspapers. Detroit's dailies back up the official policy of not giving out information that might be considered derogatory to either race."

This practice, it is known, is widely followed throughout the North. In Washington, the editors of the various newspapers for years had an understanding that they suppress reports of violent racial incidents. The result of this policy, it is believed, may be that many Northern legislators, until recently, have not realized that they are sitting on a racial powder-keg.

In the Senate cloakrooms in the past 24 hours, great credit is given to Senator Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.) for his role in bringing about compromises between North and South on "civil rights." A pioneer in the field of bettering North-South relations, Mundt has long advocated political realignment between Northern and Southern conservatives of both parties. In the past month in the "civil rights" bill clash, he was the first GOP Senator to propose a compromise on the thorny jury trial issue. This week, referring to the vote which eliminated Section III, Mundt told HUMAN EVENTS: "This constitutes an important milestone on the way to the inevitable realignment."

School Aid: Slightly less than a year after Dwight Eisenhower was unanimously renominated at the San Francisco Convention, House Republicans divided, 111-77, against the Administration's Federal aid to school construction bill. (In Thursday's 208-203 vote, Democrats voted in favor of the bill, 126-97.) Analysts in the Capital, studying this phenomenon, advance a number of explanations:

1) Federal aid, like other New Dealish features of "modern Republicanism," has never been accepted by the Capitol Hill branch of the GOP. Indicative votes were those of Minority Whip Leslie Arends and Administration spokesman Charlie Halleck. Both voted against the bill. Also significant was the fact that Arends, Halleck, and GOP leader Joe Martin all voted for the "Powell amendment" — which would have prohibited aid to racially segregated schools. Eisenhower had asked that no such amendment be attached to the bill.

2) Natural GOP opposition to the measure was heavily reinforced by grass-roots protest against Federal aid to schools, and persistent demands that spending be curtailed. Along with its other troubles, the Federal aid bill was caught in the undertow of the economy tide.

3) Far from the GOP "remaking" itself in the image of President Eisenhower and the Palace Guard (as

*(*Collier's* magazine commented last year that "When Harlem has been desegregated, when Negroes have been welcomed as neighbors in the present suburbs of New York and Chicago, when the Chinese and Filipinos have been made to feel at home in San Francisco's Sea Cliff and Pacific Heights, there will be time enough to point a finger at the South.")

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fervently predicted by "liberal" commentators), the influences were operating the other way around. Confronted with resolute conservative opposition in Congress, the Administration did not press the issue. Democrats and the "liberal" pundits complain bitterly that Ike failed to pressure more GOP Congressmen into supporting the bill. But the truth is, say conservatives, that the real "pressure" — public sentiment against "Big Government" — was focussed on the White House. (On some other issues, however, Administration pressure escapes public observation. See "Status of Forces," below.)

4) Tribute is paid to Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn (R-N.Y.), who repeatedly punctured the claims of Federal aid advocates that the states could not handle their own educational needs. Gwinn's assault on the "statistical smog" emitted by the U.S. Office of Education, it is said, was an important influence in rejecting the Federal aid measure.

5) Defeat of the bill, it is noted, can also be attributed to the numerous civic and patriotic organizations that mobilized this year to meet the annual advance of the "Federal aid lobby" — spearheaded by the NEA. Congressmen opposing the measure were strengthened by this rallying of conservative forces, expressing the deep-seated national opposition to Federal aid. But they warn that the lobby, armed with hundreds of thousands of dollars (see HUMAN EVENTS for July 13, 1957), now plans a renewed campaign to "saturate" the country with pro-Federal aid propaganda.

Another Bricker Amendment: An amendment sponsored by Senator Bricker (R.-Ohio), tacked to the Participation Act for the famous "Atoms for Peace" treaty, struck a severe blow to the Administration's hopes for the giveaway agreement passed by the Senate a month ago. Bricker's amendment was attached to the Participation Act (without which the Treaty could have no force) by the Congressional Joint Committee late last week and inspired an editorial expressing alarm in the internationalist, "liberal" *New York Times* (July 22). The *Times* said the action could "imperil" the whole "Atoms for Peace" project.

The committee voted 14 to 2 for the Bricker amendment. Senator Knowland, Administration Senate leader, who originally proposed this method of amending the treaty, voted for the Bricker amendment. When the measure reaches the floor of the Senate (and House, too), the chances for elimination of the amendment appear small. Hence the *Times*' dismal tone.

The Bricker amendment was aimed at preventing the United States from turning over to the global "Atoms for Peace" organization any nuclear materials that might go to Communist countries. It forbids allocation of nuclear materials abroad without the approval of Congress. (This provision was opposed strongly by the Administration.) It also restricts the President's authority to give, rather than sell, atomic materials to the international body. Atomic experts who have opposed the treaty say that the price at which the President is permitted to sell such materials is so high, and the amount permitted is so small, that no foreign nations individually or as a group could afford to buy them. (This does not affect the 5,000 kilograms which the President has allotted abroad, nor does it preclude us from matching the amount put up by other nations through 1960. But that, it is estimated, would be comparatively "small pumpkins.")

These atomic experts express satisfaction at the committee passage of the Bricker amendment. "The result," comments the melancholy *Times* editorial, "might well be the end of the agency [set up by the treaty]."

Status of Forces: A story little known outside the Capital has considerably agitated conservatives here this week. Angry Congressmen describe the pressures exerted by the Administration to throttle action against the "Status of Forces" agreements, which now stand very low in Congressional esteem. The story, as gathered by the HUMAN EVENTS staff, runs like this:

● On Wednesday, July 17, Representative Omar Burleson (D.-Tex.) offered a "Status of Forces" amendment to S. 2130 (the foreign aid bill), then under debate. Burleson's amendment, a "sense" resolution, stated the President should initiate changes in the "Status of Forces" agreements insuring that American GI's would not be handed over to foreign courts. After lengthy discussion, and adoption of an amendment offered by Ohio Democrat Wayne Hays (adding the proviso "while on duty"), the Burleson amendment was defeated — by a tie "teller" vote (in which members' names are not recorded) of 134 to 134.

● Beneath these surface facts lies the story that exercises conservative legislators. Administration pressure, it is said, was at full strength. Many Congressmen deemed susceptible to White House leverage were worked over by Minority Leader Joe Martin and Minority Whip Leslie Arends, and enough defectors were found to bring about the tie. The most significant factor in the success of this maneuvering, it developed, was the cloak of secrecy provided by the anonymous "teller" vote.

HUMAN EVENTS learns that several Congressmen told Martin: "I'll vote with you on the 'teller,' Joe; but on a roll call I'll have to go the other way. My constituents would never stand for it if I was recorded as voting with you and against young Girard."

One Capitol Hill veteran summed it up this way: "If the vote had been out in the open, or if just one of those wavering Congressmen had voted the way his people think he does, the Burleson amendment would have passed."

Teamsters: Acquitted of trying to plant a spy on the McClellan Committee staff, squat, indomitable Jimmy Hoffa now looms as odds-on favorite to be next president of the powerful, 1.4 million-member Teamsters Union.

Conceivably, next month's McClellan Committee hearings on union racketeering in New York City might

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bloody Hoffa's reputation badly enough to blackball him for the job. This seems unlikely, even though the hearings will center around activities of the notorious Johnny Dio and other Hoffa henchmen in manipulating so-called "paper locals" for their personal gain in shaking down employers.

The AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, meeting here next week, must face up soon on a decision whether or not to suspend the Teamsters and thereby initiate procedures leading to its expulsion from the merged federation. Various considerations which members of the committee will have to weigh:

● Hoffa never has been found dipping into the union till *à la* Dave Beck; but he has profited personally from exercise of union power, and he has been responsible for many of the bulldozing tactics which have brought the Teamsters into public disrepute. There is no prospect that under him, its methods would soften.

● If the Teamsters are expelled from the AFL-CIO, it will be a virtual invitation to creation of a new rival federation including it, John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers, the racket-ridden International Longshoremen's Association and probably several building trades unions presently chafing under restrictions imposed by their affiliation with the AFL-CIO.

● Hoffa probably is the only man within the union movement tough enough — and perhaps strong enough, if he becomes president of the Teamsters — to stop Walter Reuther; if kept in the AFL-CIO, he might be the man whose support could prevent Reuther from replacing George Meany as its president. In their common home state, Michigan, Hoffa is the sole serious threat to Reuther's untrammeled governmental sway. Reuther, through the brothers Kennedy, would do all in his power to use the McClellan Committee to destroy Hoffa; one of the latter's fondest hopes is to find some way of using the same group to destroy Reuther.

Labor Boycotts: Inclusion of secondary boycotts on the list of improper union practices to be probed by the McClellan Committee is hailed by knowledgeable labor legislation observers as a major victory in the effort to control union excesses.

They say any adequate investigation in this field will point up a major flaw which has developed in the Taft-Hartley law: it prohibits unions from conducting secondary boycotts through pressure on employees of other companies, but it does not prohibit similar boycott pressure on other employers or on consumer groups.

Thus, the Teamsters Union has used the controversial "hot cargo" clause contained in most of its contracts, to force companies to assist it in bringing economic pressure to bear on other companies with which it is feuding. And the United Auto Workers has been in the clear, legally, in persuading municipal governing bodies and other groups to refuse to buy products from the Kohler plumbing goods company.

The McClellan committee investigative staff assigned to probe this field is headed by Paul Kamerick, longtime, highly capable Congressional staff investigator who undoubtedly will do a competent job if allowed a free hand. His group starts with instructions to go into at least three specific cases:

1) The UAW's nationwide campaign to curtail use of Kohler products.

2) The Burt Manufacturing Co., of Akron, Ohio, caught in the switches between the United Steel Workers, which represents its employees, and the Sheet Metal Workers, which claims it should represent them and consequently refuses to install Burt products on construction jobs.

3) Galveston Truck Lines of Galveston, Tex., which suddenly found transfer truck lines refusing to handle its cargoes when the Teamsters sought to force Galveston to sign a contract covering its drivers, who did not want such representation.

Palace Guard: Movie columnist Hedda Hopper reported last week: "Interesting angle of British hospitality is the four palace servants lent by Queen Elizabeth to Harold Stassen. He represents President Eisenhower at the disarmament talks here. The butler and three maids are among the best trained security wise in London. Stassen occupies a 12 bedroom house — rental $560 a week."

McCarthy: Resolutions commending the work of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy continue to flood into the House and Senate. A quick check by HUMAN EVENTS of the memorials received on one day — Monday, July 22 — disclosed resolutions from the following states: California, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Texas and Wisconsin.

The resolution from Wisconsin, adopted by the Young Republican Convention there, is likely to attract the attention of the seven Republican candidates for McCarthy's Senate seat. The Young Republican resolution stated: "We . . . go on record as strongly urging our Senator, Alexander Wiley, to immediately introduce a resolution in the Senate to strike from the record of that body the unwarranted condemnation that cannot but serve as an extremely dangerous precedent for future thought control in our legislative halls."

Letter from DR. MEDFORD EVANS, Professor of Social Sciences, Northwestern State College of Louisiana: "I have been a steadfast reader of HUMAN EVENTS for years. I find it particularly useful for my classes relating to government and politics; its political close-ups and conservative articles present a point of view that students find refreshing and informative."

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Article Section *Printed in Two Sections*

THE TAX SLAVES

By E. MERRILL ROOT

MAN DOES NOT LIVE by bread alone, but also by the word. It is unhappily true, however, that man does not die by poison alone, but also by the false word — by the fallacy or the lie made glamorous in a glittering phrase.

When in the course of human events a Patrick Henry or a George Washington strikes off a phrase like an immortal spark of essential light, or a Lincoln fuses America into a phrase, our constitutional Republic lives. But so great is the magic of the word that even a lie glamorously phrased can be a spell of black magic to shackle a decade to error or to infect a great nation with death. Among the lies or fallacies of genius, the phrases that are false but magical, one of the worst, because it has done most to wreck free enterprise and to harm the Republic, is that famous verbal cobra: *"wage slaves."*

The phrase "wage slaves" is, of course, a lie. (It is a lie rather than a fallacy because it was fabricated with deliberate purpose to mislead and to destroy.) But it is a lie from the lips of Lucifer himself, potent with the black magic of perverted genius — clever, catchy, quotable. It is supposed to mean that all workers under the "profit system" are "slaves" because they receive in "wages" only a part of what they produce. But it is demonstrably false.

It is false because men are "slaves" only when they are owned and compelled. Slaves are coerced by legal fiat and organized social force, without choice, respite, or appeal, into a fixed, irrevocable status. Now only by tortured semantics can the necessity to work if you would receive a return — which is a fact of Nature and a fiat of God — be called "slavery." Nor can work for wages, freely entered into by contract, be called "slavery" just because one party to the contract, owning land or tools, takes part of the product as reward for such ownership. "Slavery" exists only if the worker, without choice or will of his own, is compelled into the single pattern of another's will, by legal fiat and organized coercion.

THE "PROFIT SYSTEM" (even at its supposed worst made lurid and sensational by its most sentimental enemies) does not and cannot own or compel workers without choice, appeal, or alternative, into a single pattern or status. Competing businesses and industries offer alternatives for the worker's choice. These industries, because they compete, are forced to bid for the worker's services; to offer higher wages to secure the better worker; to satisfy the worker or to see him go.

The worker is free to accept or to refuse employment; to organize and bargain; to leave one employ and enter another; to change his kind of job or his place of employment. He may, by saving or borrowing, set up a business of his own. He may buy five acres and independence, and work for himself and not for "wages" at all.

Thus under free enterprise, the only compulsions are a basic necessity to work (a universal human necessity under *all* systems), and to recognize that a part of the product goes rightfully to the owner of the tools that made the product possible. Thus the phrase "wage slaves" is as false and silly a phrase — as lurid a gesture of sentimental semantics — as you will ever find. To speak of "wage slavery" is ignorance — or deliberate deceit.

But there *is* a system today which reduces every man and woman in the United States to slavery — a slavery universal, inescapable, cold and monstrous, mechanical and blind — a slavery enforced on us all by legal fiat and organized coercion. That is the system of the progressive income tax. The income tax reduces us all, by brute compulsion, to a status of uni-

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versal slavery. There was never such a thing as "wage slavery"; but every man and woman in the United States is *a tax slave.*

THE INCOME TAX, by legal fiat and organized coercion, imposes upon all citizens legalized extortion and political control by a single monolithic central power: the Federal Government, become what Nietzsche rightly called "the State, that coldest of all cold monsters." No one can escape or refuse this extortion and this control; no one has freedom of choice, will, or conscience in relation to it: ours not to reason why, ours but to pay or die.

A young man summoned for military service, whose conscience forbids him to bear arms, finds his right of conscientious objection honored by the army. But is your right of conscientious objection against paying for military preparation honored by the Department of Internal Revenue? In the Cincinnati *Enquirer,* April 30, 1957, we are told about the Rev. Maurice McCrackin of that city. The Rev. McCrackin, rightly or wrongly, believed that conscience forbade him to pay taxes for military preparation. So he paid only some 20 per cent of his tax, which he agreed was due to Caesar for civil services, and withheld the rest. I quote:

> But the government got the full payment anyway, with interest. ". . . year after year," he says, "the government ordered my bank to release money from my account to pay the taxes I had withheld. I then closed my bank account, and by some method better known to the intelligence service than to me, it was discovered I had money at a savings and loan company. Orders were given this firm to surrender from my account the amount it was held I owed under threat of prosecution if they failed to do so."

It is fortunate that the spirits of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson do not revisit the glimpses of the moon to see what their unworthy sons have done to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" — or conscience!

In all free areas of life, reason decides how and where you will spend your money — for uses, but not abuses. But is your reason ever consulted by the Department of Internal Revenue? Your reason may (and should) protest at pouring the resources and the future of America down all the rat holes of the world; at squandering the money which should educate your children in order to create some new Circumlocution Office in Washington; at buying planes for Comrade Tito, so he can shoot down your sons in the next war. In every free area of your life, you can withhold your money from such abuses and spend your money only for the uses that reason approves. But when a J. Bracken Lee makes such a decision, he finds, as we all find, that the Department of Internal Revenue has no concern for intelligence and reason. The taxpayer, like Omar Khayyam's ball, is helpless:

> The ball no question makes of Ayes or Noes,
> But here or there, as strikes the player, goes.

We are all helpless pieces of the game Big Government plays with us upon this checkerboard of nights and days — mere mechanical pieces for the cold gambits of power. You have no choice: you face only coercion. You pay your tax for purposes that lacerate your conscience and insult your reason, or your bank account is impounded, your business is ruined, your house is sold over you, the savings of a lifetime are confiscated . . . or you go to Alcatraz to join the ghost of Al Capone. You are as hapless and helpless as old Uncle Tom under the lash of Simon Legree.

Thus the income tax is slavery because it compels all men universally to bow under its yoke, often against their reason and their conscience, by legal fiat and organized coercion. But it is also, in its exorbitant demands and its monstrous extortions, the instrument of the worst profiteering in history. The abuses of Big Business, as publicized by sentimental "liberals," are a molehill compared with the Sierra Madres of the profiteering of Big Government . . . the exploitation by Uncle Sam become Uncle Caesar.

The income tax is "progressive" — like cancer — and extends its inexorable extortions till in the highest brackets it takes 91 per cent.

> And this falls heaviest not upon the "rich"— who can invest in tax-free bonds, set up trust funds, and hire tax-lawyers to search out loop-holes. It falls most heavily upon the poor who win new opportunity — upon artists, authors, workers with their brains, or poor civil servants or professors who win on a Quiz Show. A poor professor on a Quiz Show

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may win $128,000, as the final reward of many years of study and preparation. He is certainly not one of the "rich" of the earth; yet, for no services rendered or no justifiable reason, the new Caesar of the streamlined racket steps in to relieve him of most of what he has won.

From this hijacking and extortion he has no appeal. He is a slave in the literal meaning of the word: a man without free choice, who is robbed of his legitimate earnings by legal fiat and organized coercion.

Ronald Reagan, in *TV Guide* for April 13-19, wrote:

> Under the present law, an unmarried man making $200,000 a year pays about 78 per cent of that income to the Government and above that, 91 cents of every dollar earned. Put it this way: A man like Bing Crosby goes to work on Monday morning and works for the Government until 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon. For the work he does between 4 and 6 on Saturday, he is allowed to keep what he earns. It is my contention that that is not fair. And I don't think the so-called "average man" would consider it fair either.

Certainly for any man to be held in the treadmill of forced labor for five and three-fourths days out of a week, and to work for himself on only one-fourth of one day a week, is slavery. *It is tax slavery.*

Now when a poor author, out of 30 or more years of preparation and waiting, makes one success that in one year brings him in an amount great for that one year, but *not* great when divided over all the years, he may be hijacked out of 91 per cent of what he "makes." If he is, this means that he works during eleven months of the year for Uncle Caesar, and only one month of the year for himself and his family!

The Caesars taxing the once free citizens of Rome, or the hard-boiled Pharaohs driving the voiceless fellaheen to forced labor on the pyramids, would wistfully flock to Washington to learn the new techniques of slavery supercharged and streamlined!

AND SEE WHAT this means even for the worker in the lowest brackets, mulcted of at least 20 per cent of his taxable income as well as paying — on the average — hidden taxes of a similar magnitude. It means that every worker in the United States is herded into forced labor for Uncle Caesar *for over ten weeks out of every 52.* For ten weeks of every year, at least, every worker in the United States is *forced into involuntary servitude.* During this period at hard labor, like a convict in a penal institution, he does not receive a single penny for himself or his family. He could, if taxes were repealed, take a two-and-one-half month vacation every year — and still be as well off as he is now. (Walter Reuther, take note.) He is deprived, by the profiteering and exploitation of Big Government, of two-and-one-half months out of every working year of his life. *This is tax slavery.*

(The Tax Foundation, Inc., estimates that an average American, earning $85 a week, works one-and-a-half days out of every five merely to pay his taxes — Federal, state and local. Paying the cost of government is the largest single bite out of this worker's paycheck — larger than either food or housing.)

Or think of this in terms of economic deprivation. In the year 1956, Big Government sucked the economic lifeblood out of the American people to the extent of $72 billion. Of course, the Federal Government does render services which are not boondoggling, and only a part of this total was wasted. But think of the wages that could have been paid, the business that could have been done, the expansion of industry through research and new plants and more workers, the standard of living that could have been Mr. Everyman's, if we had economy in Government and a reasonable tax system.

And *double* taxes — bearing down on industry as well as stockholders — further irritate this open wound in our economy. Big Government takes 52 per cent of all corporation profits. Much of this money, which might have gone into wages, the expansion of industry, the pockets of us little people who invest in stocks to protect our old age, is siphoned into the nonproductive interlocking bureaucracies of the State.

And these Federal income taxes are exacerbated because on them are pyramided countless other taxes. Big Government, like any other parasite, is never content with its pound of economic flesh: it exacts more flesh out of

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our economic life every time we wire or phone (as if a death message were a luxury!), every time we travel on necessary business, every time we buy a watch (as if knowing the time were a luxury!). Meanwhile, Big Business has its expenses to pay and its risks to face.

Government has not cleared the wires or provided the train, yet, without risks or expenses of its own, it exacts a flat ten per cent every time you buy a ticket, every time you wire the acceptance of a contract. And finally it takes as high as 70 per cent when we die, for no reason save that of the eternal Caesar — that *his* is the power and the glory. Such is tax slavery — and it grows with every new prerogative of profit that we yield to the legal fiat and the organized coercion of Big Government.

There are, indeed, legitimate expenses of Government for legitimate services that only Government can render, and these must be paid for. The armed services are one. But in saner times all such expenditures were kept at a minimum and paid for out of current income from excise taxes or reasonable income taxes.

Now, intoxicated with its easy profiteering and unopposed exploitation, Big Government has become a confirmed pathological alcoholic. It goes on from bottle to bottle — more dabbling in what only private industry can do well, more proliferation of Bigger and Better Bureaus for the Propagation of Nonsense, more subsidizing of every national pressure group and every international hitchhiker, a more prolonged debauch in pork barrels and cosmic boondoggling.

Now Big Government will never stop unless it joins Alcoholics Anonymous or until the free drams are cut off. That means the end of the progressive income tax as we now know it. And that will come only when we dead awaken, when we slaves revolt.

Tax slaves of the once free 48 states, unite! You have nothing to lose but your Department of Internal Revenue!

E. Merrill Root, author of *Collectivism on the Campus* (Devin-Adair), is Professor of English at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. A well-known poet, Professor Root has also written widely on political and philosophical subjects. His most recent contribution to HUMAN EVENTS was "Joy to the World," December 22, 1956.

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